HUMAN EVENTS

Volume XIII, No. 5 Saturday, February 4, 1956 Washington, D. C.

News Section *Printed in Two Sections*

The Master's Voice: The second coming of Adlai this year is suffering — and is bound henceforth to suffer more — from the contradictions within the Democratic party. Just as Stevenson sought to free himself from the association with Truman in 1952 — a year that brought the Republicans into power on a tide of anti-Trumanism — now the Illinois former governor is carrying (and grunting painfully under) a veritable old-man-of-the-sea, namely, organized labor. Just when the aspirant for the Democratic nomination begins to delude listeners that he is a "moderate," the labor bosses and their political stooges step in to spoil the act. That is the way Capital observers see the developing campaign of the man who started as the strongest candidate in the opposition party, but who now. . . . Well, here are the details, as viewed from Washington:

Michigan's Governor G. Mennen Williams, political voice of Walter Reuther and the CIO, lays down the line to would-be Democratic Presidential nominee Adlai Stevenson. What the Democratic Party needs, says "Soapy," is a "bold, courageous" program, not "moderation." On a TV panel show, he said he could not support Stevenson under present circumstances; before a National Press Club luncheon the next day, he refused to be quite so flat but again criticized the 1952 Democratic standard-bearer and said he, Williams, was more interested "in programs than in candidates."

As an example of what he meant by "not thinking in large enough terms," (i.e., in terms of spending enough money), the toiletries scion referred to a speech before the National Education Association last July in which Stevenson supported a program of $500,000,000 a year Federal aid to education. This figure, said Williams, is not enough to do the job of educating a generation which "needs Einsteins." (Not enough! Shades of Harry Hopkins!)

Williams' remarks served to point up the difficulties inherent in Stevenson's attempt to play "moderate" and liberal roles simultaneously. He went into the campaign confident of the support of the CIO-Americans for Democratic Action, left-wing element of the Democratic Party, which won the nomination for him in 1952, and adopted his "moderate" look in an attempt to pick up some conservative and middle-of-the-road support. The "New Look" now threatens to cut off part of his vital left flank.

Florida is emerging as an example of his difficulties. On his recent speaking invasion of the Sunshine State, Stevenson emphasized his newborn "moderation" in hopes of corralling a substantial portion of the state's large conservative vote. But reports from "down south" are that it's still a horse race between Stevenson and Senator Estes Kefauver, with a growing suspicion that if Ohio's Governor Frank Lausche were to toss in his name, too, he might well win the event.

Stevenson presently is invading California, where again he is pitted against Kefauver; his campaign headquarters advertises his address tonight (Saturday) in Fresno as his "first major campaign speech." Will it, with other Golden State talks, take him back into the good graces of the Williams-Reuther-CIO-ADA axis?

Finally, in Stevenson's own state, organized labor recently displayed its iron control of the Democratic Party there when it rejected one of the party's national elder statesmen, Scott Lucas, for young Richard Stengel of Rock Island who has served two terms in the state legislature.

Lucas served in the lower House in Washington for four years, and in the Senate for 12 years, ending up as Democratic Senate Leader, one of the most prominent figures in the party. In Congress, he voted 100 per cent as labor dictated. But Illinois leaders, a few weeks ago, when making up their minds, obviously feared — in view of the

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Lucas prestige — that the former Senator might not be as pliable as a newcomer. Lucas fought hard for the nomination at a meeting of the slate-making committee in the home of Chicago's Mayor Daley, but was summarily rejected.

Lucas would have fitted in with the "moderation" vaudeville of Adlai well enough. Now, Stengel will symbolize, in the eyes of the moderate voter, the left-wing domination of the Democratic Party. It will be a heavy cross for Adlai to bear on his own home grounds.

Letter from ALBERT W. HAWKES, former U.S. Senator from New Jersey: "From my point of view and after reading all the various letters and magazines and pamphlets which have been got out in the last 20 years to help those involved in government and business in the United States, I consider there is no medium that is superior to HUMAN EVENTS to keep one informed on the vital affairs of the state and the nation and business. I am indeed very happy that I am a subscriber to it and I recommend it to all who would play their part well in the affairs of preserving our American system of free men."

Political Talk: The boom for Governor Frank Lausche of Ohio for Democratic presidential nomination is gathering support in Massachusetts. It may be recalled that Lausche in his TV interview with "Meet the Press," mentioned that admirers in the Bay State had contacted him. Now, according to reports from our correspondents in that area, a former Democratic State Auditor is showing great interest in the sentiment for Lausche. It is rumored that this figure will try to organize a slate of delegates for the Democratic National Convention pledged to Lausche. As the Ohioan's name will not appear in the preference race in Massachusetts, observers are watching the growth of this movement for a slate of delegates there.

Meanwhile, the Lausche bandwagon rolls in Indiana (see HUMAN EVENTS report on January 21). The Indianapolis *Star* on January 15 editorially said that "a wonderful choice" for the Democratic nomination for president would be Frank Lausche. The *Star* is a Republican paper, but says that "since the 'liberals' have been handing out unsolicited advice to Republicans on the presidency, we would like to take a turn at it as 'conservatives' and give some equally unsolicited advice to the Democrats."

● The GOP primary pot is simmering in Wisconsin. There, an "official slate" of delegates pledged to Ike has been formed, headed by Governor Kohler and including 3 members of Congress and various state officials. Meanwhile, talk has started about formation of an "independent" GOP slate — which might be of a pro-Knowland character. That sounds like a fight between two such slates. But some observers say no; they believe that the "official" slate is by no means a pro-Eisenhower slate; that it is composed of a majority of former Taft supporters and was created by these people, not by the "liberal" Governor Kohler, as a holding operation to prevent "liberal" GOP elements from controlling it. Some observers contend that the slate could easily be converted to one for Knowland, if Ike does not run. A number of politicos assert that Knowland could win a popularity test in Wisconsin and a privately conducted poll in recent weeks tends to support this view.

Judicial Anti-Anti-Communism: Much talk in the Capitol cloakrooms and legal circles anent the week-old decision of the District of Columbia Court of Appeals denying the right of Congressional Committees to compel witnesses to answer questions about former Communists unless they can prove that the questions are pertinent to the inquiry. The ruling directed an acquittal, on contempt charges, for John T. Watkins of Rock Island, Illinois, a CIO-United Auto Workers organizer who, before the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1954, denied being a Communist himself but admitted to having "freely cooperated" with the Party from 1942 to 1947.

He was convicted of contempt for refusing to say whether he had known some 30 persons as Communists. The Court of Appeals decision said, "it is very questionable whether exposure of individuals to public contempt or hostility is a 'valid legislative purpose.'" Judge Walter M. Bastian, dissenting, said the ruling "puts us in the position of a court of appeals over the Congress and its committees."

A Congressional legal expert comments: "In the passport cases, the Supreme Court has been dictating what the Executive branch can do; in the segregation decision, it told Mississippi and other states what they must do; in this case, the Court

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of Appeals tells Congress what it can and cannot do. Quite a trilogy." The decision will be appealed, thus giving the Supreme Court a chance to decide whether to complete the trilogy on its own authority.

Trumpets the Communist *Daily Worker* editorially, "When one thinks of all the people who have been attacked, smeared and jailed for refusing to turn stool-pigeon, it becomes clear that such a ruling is long, long overdue, and comes as a result of the continuing movement against McCarthyism . . . the whole question of compulsory informing should be looked into. . . . Bit by bit — though far too slowly — the witch-hunting edifice built up to bolster the Cold War is crumbling." Thereby, says the same Congressional legalist, the *Daily Worker* puts its finger on the crux: substitute "security system" for the pinko-Red phrase "witch-hunting," and the picture becomes clear, with recent judicial decisions threatening the entire structure.

This week's article section is entitled "Knowland ('Mr. Integrity') Enters The Race."

Despite its admiration for Senator Knowland, HUMAN EVENTS is not committed to any one candidate. Among governors, we like the Republican Governor of Utah, J. Bracken Lee, and the Democratic Governor of Ohio, Frank Lausche.

In the U. S. Senate, we are favorable to a dozen or more members who have been voting against Bigger and Bigger Government.

We are putting Senator Knowland forward at this time because it is vital that the conservatives shall not let the nomination go by default to the New Deal Republicans. Senator Knowland has had the courage to enter the first primaries. Unless some other candidate that you prefer looms as a serious possibility, Senator Knowland deserves your support.

FRANK C. HANIGHEN
Editor and Publisher

Aid-to-Higher-Education: Title of an article in the January issue of the NEA (National Education Association) *Journal:* "Colleges, Too, Will Need More Teachers." "First the elementary schools," the article starts, "then the high schools, and now the colleges are coming to realize that the shortage of teachers is not an abstraction." Then it goes on to tell of a new NEA survey which, it says, points up the growing shortage of properly-trained and equipped college instructors.

The article comes as another portent of a not-too-distant campaign for a program of Federal aid to higher education. HUMAN EVENTS told last week of the decision of the Committee for the White House Conference on Education, which stage-managed last December's mass propaganda spectacle here in Washington, to recommend to the President that he call a similar conference to consider Federal aid needs of colleges and universities. The straws accumulate.

An ironic sidelight to the current House of Representatives consideration of the basic aid-to-education bill is seen in the sudden switch of both the NEA and of labor unions as a whole, to opposition to Rep. Adam Clayton Powell's anti-segregation amendment, which they have heartily approved in the past. The unions say they are advised by counsel that under the Supreme Court decision, the Executive branch of the government will be obliged to withhold aid from districts where segregation still is in effect; actually, the reason for opposition of both groups is the unspoken realization that if the Powell amendment should be adopted, the bill probably would be dead.

Interposition: The story of interposition, which HUMAN EVENTS was the first to break nationally on December 3, 1955, is now being broadcast throughout the nation's press, including the North (which at first disdained it as a Confederate maneuver). This legal method (hallowed by precedents in the early history of the Republic), which the Southern states have adapted to fight the Supreme Court's anti-segregation decree, so far has got them about four states whose legislatures either have or will shortly have resolutions passed for "interposition."

Some old abolitionists insist on calling it "nullification." Actually, proponents of interposition say it is not "nullification," for what they want is a constitutional amendment process to clarify the country's stand on desegregation in the schools. Such a process, of course, is bound to be a long and tedious one.

Meanwhile, as the Virginia "interposition" resolution shows, the states will "resist" the Supreme Court decree. It is estimated, in Richmond, that within a year about 8 or 10 states will have passed interposition resolutions.

Even in Richmond — mother city of the interposition revolt — the process of such an amendment and its outcome would sound a bit nebulous and futile, were it not for another consideration. Backers of interposition have deemed it rather unfortunate that the issue is now tied to the race

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question. But, they see no reason why this should continue to be so.

They point to the statement last week of the Texas Attorney General who deprecated Texan use of interposition in the case of desegregation in the schools, but suggested that it might come in handy on the question of control of state natural resources. This was interpreted as reference to the present congressional fight over the natural gas bill, which sprang from a Supreme Court decision considered by many as an attempt to "legislate."

This provides nourishment for the Richmond thinking. If Texas and Oklahoma, for instance, invoked interposition for this reason, and some of the mountain states invoked it for some other reason, say of "mineral resources," the issue of interposition and states rights might well have a truly broad and national scope. So, at least, it seems to Virginians who have started this great constitutional row.

Friends of the Little Man: Twelve thousand automobile dealers in convention in Washington, applauded vitriolic diatribes against motor car manufacturers by two Democratic Senators, Monroney of Oklahoma and O'Mahoney of Wyoming, who offered Federal aid as the cure for their ills. Phantom freight (charging freight from Detroit to city of delivery even though the car is assembled in city of delivery), new car bootlegging, and failure to give exclusive territorial contracts and short-term dealer franchises were denounced.

But O'Mahoney's specific suggestion — Federal control of dealer contracts — got a hostile reaction in hotel lobby discussions. A typical comment: "O'Mahoney wants to fool us into thinking the National Automobile Dealers Association would be able to dictate to a government agency the terms of dealer contracts. He certainly knows, but being an AFL-CIO-controlled Senator he didn't dare tell us that the organized labor lobby would have ten times as much political power as we would have. The labor skates would do the dictating. It would be OPA over again ten times worse, and on a permanent basis."

Several Wyoming and Colorado dealers were violently critical of O'Mahoney. "We know this man," they explained. "Here's a red hot New Deal Senator that votes for just about every big-spending proposal ever made, yet claims to be the friend of small business. He's one of our worst enemies. The American people, including us auto dealers, need lower taxes so people can spend their money themselves instead of having the government spend it for them. But they'll never get them from phoney 'friends of the little man' like O'Mahoney."

Transcripts: Governor Lausche, whom we met at a luncheon in the Capital this week, remarked to us that his TV broadcast brought him a mass of interesting letters — each one of which, he said, represented a particular individual approach. (Apparently, this is what happens when a famous individualist addresses an audience composed of — among others — many individualists.) The Governor added that many of the letter writers were pretty critical of the interrogators on the panel of "Meet the Press." We told him that we had had hundreds of requests for the transcript of the show. He told us that his office had received "dozens" of copies of the issue of HUMAN EVENTS commenting on his interview. He seemed to like that.

Two complete transcripts of important "Meet the Press" broadcasts — one of Lausche's meeting, the other of Knowland's — can be obtained from HUMAN EVENTS. Prices are: single copy 20c (coins, not stamps); 10 copies $1; 25 copies $2; 100 copies $5; 500 copies $20; 1,000 copies $30. In 5,000 lots, $20 per thousand.

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The **Declaration of Independence** opens: "When in the course of HUMAN EVENTS . . ."

FRANK C. HANIGHEN, *Editor and Publisher* JAMES L. WICK, *Executive Publisher*

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Article Section

FEB 15 1956

KNOWLAND ("MR. INTEGRITY") ENTERS THE RACE

What This Means To Conservatives

By JAMES L. WICK

This article is written upon the assumption — which may turn out to be false — that Ike will not run. Our guess as to the President's ultimate decision is no better than yours. But we do know that passivity and delay play squarely into the hands of the Palace Guard.

The point of this article is that conservatives — if they are to win at San Francisco — must realize that the time for political action has come.

REPUBLICAN SENATOR WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND of California has announced that he will allow his name to be entered in the Illinois presidential primary to be held on April 10. If Ike decides to run, Knowland will withdraw; otherwise the Republican Senate leader will be a candidate for the presidency.

Knowland's bold move has alarmed the Palace Guard and others close to the President. Their maneuvers to dictate the choice of the 1956 Republican convention are endangered. If the Guardists are to hang on to their own enormous personal power and prestige for another four years, they must prevent the Republican rank and file from having any voice at the convention. They must prevent the various candidates from engaging in free and open competition for votes in the presidential primaries.

The GOP "liberals" believe in the cynical Dewey philosophy: "Since you conservatives have nowhere else to go, we'll go after the New Deal votes."

In 1938, Edmund Wilson, then an editor of the *New Republic,* wrote: "We must take Communism away from the Communists." In the same spirit, the Guardists today declare: "We must take the New Deal away from the New Dealers."

The regents have been pinning their hopes on Earl Warren. That prospect has been dimmed though not killed by the President's statements about Warren in his January 25 press conference. Some of the White House reporters say that Ike indicated that he is flatly opposed to a Supreme Court Justice entering politics. Others say Ike meant that Warren would have to resign from the bench before seeking the presidency. However, all are agreed that Ike will not make a personal plea to the Chief Justice to accept the nomination, and that is a disheartening blow to the draft-Warren movement.

Washington newsmen believe the Chief Justice may still be ambitious for the presidency and would become a last minute candidate (like Stevenson in 1952) if such a course is "forced" upon him. They have noted that he has not repeated his pronouncement of a year ago that he would not accept a presidential nomination, and they consider it significant that he has avoided newsmen like the plague — knowing the question they want him to answer.

However, the Warren-promoters realize that the Chief Justice cannot be nominated

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if his record is subjected to public debate and severe scrutiny for seven months.

As governor of California, Warren advocated socialized medicine — administered by the State, but financially assisted by the Federal Government. He has been a longtime advocate of Federal aid to education on a permanent, not temporary basis, and for general purposes, not solely for school construction.

With time for sober reflection, GOP delegates are hardly likely to pick a standardbearer who is the favorite candidate of the Americans for Democratic Action. Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., ADA Chairman, has said his organization would enthusiastically support Warren against Lausche, and would "be delighted either way" if the November battle should be Warren versus Stevenson, Kefauver or Harriman. In addition, Warren has recently received the wholehearted endorsement of Mrs. Roosevelt, Harry Truman and the extreme leftwing *New York Post.*

SENATOR KNOWLAND'S record is one of sharp contrast to that of Earl Warren — or anyone else likely to be advanced by the regents.

The senior Senator from California is not only conservative, but what is more important — he is a trustworthy conservative. Because he has integrity, he is deeply respected by virtually every member of the Senate, Democrats and Republicans alike, regardless of their political convictions.

An example of his honesty is given in an article in the February 3 *Colliers* on "The Gentlemen from California." In 1952, the Taft forces offered Knowland the vice presidential nomination if he would solicit votes for Taft within the big California delegation. Although he was for Taft, Knowland refused. No matter what the reward, he would not undercut Governor Warren to whom he was pledged. By engaging in what he considered to be traitorous activity, Knowland might have switched enough Warren votes to nominate Taft. If Taft had become President, Knowland would now be in the White House.

In the pre-1933 tradition, Knowland believes unreservedly in the constitutional provision (Article I — Section 1) that "all legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives." He believes that as Senate Republican leader, he is a representative of the Republicans in the Senate. He rejects the Roosevelt-Truman theory that the party membership in the Senate elects a leader solely for the purpose of going to the White House for his orders, after which he is to come back and whip the Senate into line.*

Knowland ("Mr. Integrity") is an incomparable vote-getter. In California, where Democratic registration outnumbers Republican by 850,000, Knowland in 1952 carried the primaries of both parties by a combined majority of 1,600,000. *No person has ever won election to the Senate with a majority equal to Knowland's in 1952.*

Knowland, if nominated, will wage a fighting campaign reminiscent of Senator Taft's drive for re-election in 1950. The strategy behind that campaign was not to be frightened by New Deal columnists into shrinking into a sterile "me-tooism." Dewey followed that course in 1948, and he paralyzed the most eager and industrious Republicans at the time their fanatical ardor was most needed. On the contrary, the Taft strategy was to accept the enemy's challenge and to inspire conservatives to become an irresistible sales-force in behalf of "Mr. Republican."

*A few months ago, the television show, "See It Now" showed newsreels of Hitler's Nuremberg rally in 1936. A warning to lovers of freedom was conveyed by a film shot of Rudolph Hess shouting over and over again to the mob: "Die Partei ist Hitler!" (The party is Hitler.)

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BECAUSE KNOWLAND will model his own strategy upon that campaign, let me review that crucial effort.

Senator Taft, though looked upon as perhaps the outstanding member of the U.S. Senate, was thought of as its "poorest vote-getter." He was the absent-minded professor type who couldn't remember names even of political bigwigs. When asked how he stood on delicate issues, he answered without hesitation or equivocation regardless of how many his answer offended. Supposedly void of electoral appeal, he was opposed by Joseph Ferguson, State Auditor, considered the greatest vote-getter in the state. Ferguson decisively won the Democratic primary against Michael DiSalle, former OPA Administrator and Toledo mayor. Believing Ferguson invincible, Mayor Burke of Cleveland — appointed to the Senate after Taft's death — refused to run in the primary against him.

Political reporters visiting Ohio to talk to the state's leading politicians of both parties came away feeling sorry for Taft who had barely squeezed through in 1944 by only 7,000 votes. They reported that Ferguson had 100,000 persons on his annual Christmas card mailing lists. As a result of many years of whistle stop campaigning, he knew more voters by their first names than any other Ohioan. How could he lose?

Organized labor, with the third largest state union membership in Ohio, ordered its tens of thousands of shop stewards to use all their power to defeat the co-author of the Taft-Hartley "slave labor" law. Few union members, regardless of their personal views, dared come out for "Mr. Republican."

To meet this massive, centrally-controlled force, Ohio conservatives had to start from scratch. Having none but volunteer workers, they systematically organized every county, every ward, every precinct.

Taft won by 430,000. He carried every industrial county. Out of 88 counties he lost only four: all small, traditionally Democratic counties in the southern part of the state.

THE KNOWLAND entry into the Illinois primary — to be followed by entry into other state primaries — affords conservatives a God-given opportunity.

If you believe in the Knowland principles, your help is needed. Don't wait for somebody else to make the first move in your neighborhood. Do it yourself. Organize a Knowland-for-President Club. Write letters; hold teas and smokers; organize rallies! Talk to your GOP county chairman. Making a career of politics, he tends to back the candidate with the most aggressive support in his county. If your county chairman is cooperative, you should reciprocate. Help him raise the money he needs for his county ticket. He in turn can do much in his continuous contacts with the national committeeman, the state chairman, other county chairmen, and political workers in the county.

Don't waste precious time, energy and money seeking to change left-wingers into right-wingers. In the first place, it's too late for that. In the second place, conservatives are already in the majority — in your state, in almost every state. The need during the next few months is to inspire the convinced. By your unselfish industriousness, you will stimulate others to activity.

The time for defeatism is past. The time for confident activity has come. If conservatives throughout the United States will work as hard for Knowland in 1956 as Ohio conservatives worked for Taft in 1950, Knowland will be your next President.

James L. Wick is Executive Publisher of HUMAN EVENTS.

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THE KNOWLAND STORY

WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND was born in Alameda, California, on June 26, 1908. He was graduated from the public schools of the city of Alameda, and from the University of California.

He is married and has three children and three grandchildren. His wife is Helen Herrick Knowland, and his children are Emelyn (Mrs. Harold Jewett, Jr.) 27, Joseph 25 and Estelle 18. Senator Knowland is Assistant Publisher of the Oakland (California) *Tribune.*

He was a member of the California State Assembly from 1933 to 1935, and of the State Senate from 1935 to 1939. During his service in the State Senate he was Chairman of the Senate Committee on Revenue and Taxation.

In 1938 he was named Republican National Committeeman for California, and in 1940 was selected as a member and later as Chairman of the Executive Committee. He was active in this position until his induction into the Army in June of 1942. He served first as an enlisted man, and received his commission from the Infantry School at Fort Benning, Georgia, in February of 1943 as Second Lieutenant. In February, 1944, he was sent overseas, where he served in England, France, Belgium and Germany.

On August 14, 1945, while still serving overseas, Knowland was notified that he had been appointed United States Senator by Governor Earl Warren to succeed the late Senator Hiram W. Johnson. He returned to the United States by air and took his oath of office on September 5. In 1946 he was elected to serve his first full term in the United States Senate.

Senator Knowland won both the Republican and Democratic nominations for United States Senator on June 3, 1952, and on November 4 received 3,982,448 votes for United States Senator for the full six year term beginning January 3, 1953, the largest vote any public official has ever received in the state of California.

During the first session of the 83rd Congress, Senator Knowland served as Chairman of the Senate Republican Policy Committee, and on August 4, 1953, was unanimously elected Majority Leader of the Senate by the Republican Conference. He was a member of the Senate Foreign Relations and Appropriations Committees, and a member of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, the liaison body between both Houses of Congress and the Atomic Energy Commission.

In the 84th Congress, Senator Knowland is again serving on the Senate Committees on Foreign Relations and Appropriations, and on the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy. On January 4, 1955, he was unanimously elected by his colleagues as Senate Minority Leader after the organizational control of the Senate went over to the Democrats.

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